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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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COUNTRY Albania

REPORT

SUBJECT

1. Central Committee Resolution on Tuk Jakova, Manol Konomi and Teodor Heba
2. Closed Letter by Tuk Jakova

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SOURCE EVALUATIONS ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE

1. A resolution by the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party on the opportunistic activity of Tuk Jakova¹, Manol Konomi² and Teodor Heba³.

2. A closed letter written by Tuk Jakova on the necessity of verifying and replacing Party documents. According to the letter, there were shortcomings in the registration of Communist Party members as a result of the "hostile work of Koci Xoxe⁴."

Comments:

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1. Tuk Jakova, former Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, was dismissed from his post in June 1955.
2. Manol Konomi was Minister of Justice from 1944 to 1951.
3. Teodor Heba, former Minister to Bulgaria and Personnel Director of the Party Central Committee, was relieved from his post in 1951.
4. Koci Xoxe, former Minister of Interior and head of the secret police, was purged in 1948 on charges of pro-Titoism.

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ATTACHMENTR E S O L U T I O N

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ON CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALBANIAN WORKERS' PARTY
WHO HAVE OPERATED IN CONTRAST TO THE PARTY LINE.I. About the opportunistic activities of comrade Tuk Jakova.

From the analysis made by the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Worker's Party, concerning the activities of comrade Tuk Jakova, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee, it was determined that the activity of comrade Tuk Jakova, as a leader and as a Communist from the year 1943 until today, is characterized by a deep opportunism, intolerable liberalism, lack of sufficient hatred against the class enemy, lack of revolutionary vigilance, lack of effort for his personal ideological education, and serious negligence in performing the duties which the Party entrusted to him.

All these serious shortcomings in the person of comrade Tuk, derive from the life and education of comrade Tuk, from the petty-bourgeois environment in which he was brought up, from the influence of the religious Catholic spirit in his education, from the pressure of the reactionary bourgeoisie upon our party in general and upon comrade Tuk in particular.

1). From the ex-communist group of Shkoder, as a member of this group, comrade Tuk inherited the spirit of the sick familiarity, the spirit of being content in himself, underestimation of the enemy, petty--bourgeois magnanimity, the lack of vigilance. These characteristics have been manifested by comrade Tuk Jakova throughout his work, from the foundation of the party until today. He has been continuously criticized by the party leadership for these serious shortcomings, but his auto-criticism about these shortcomings has not been profound and complete, and has not been put into effect by him.

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Comrade Tuk Jakova, practically speaking has been thinking and operating in contrast to the political line of the party. The capitulation of Ymer Dishnica in Mukje, he understood too late, in contrast with the entire party which understood and condemned categorically this hostile action of Ymer Dishnica. For a long time after the Mukje (meeting) comrade Tuk continued to underestimate the danger for the party and for the people deriving from the capitulation of Ymer Dishnica in Mukje. And what is even worse, comrade Tuk Jakova did not declare this to the party until the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of February 1951.

At the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of 1946, comrade Tuk Jakova, being a member of the Central Committee, did not keep a firm attitude toward the opportunistic and liberal-bourgeois line of Sejfulla Maloshova which was condemned at this Plenum. Even in this case, comrade Tuk Jakova was very late in understanding the danger for the party and the people deriving from the opportunism and bourgeois liberalism of Sejfulla Maloshova. And this fact, this tardiness in realizing this danger and the underestimation of it for some time, comrade Tuk Jakova did not make known to the party until the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of February 1951.

Comrade Tuk Jakova did not understand properly the hostile activity of the anti--party group led by Abedin Shehu; ^{to} up _h the present he has continued to underestimate to an intolerable degree the Titoist danger for our party. Whereas the entire party and the people have considered and still consider the suicide of the enemy Njazi Islami an action taken by an enemy against the party and the people, comrade Tuk Jakova, until recently, continued to consider the suicide of the enemy Njazi Islami an action taken not by an enemy but by a "hard head" ("kokforte"). Comrade Tuk, in contrast with the party, has considered Njazi Islami not an enemy but a "hard head" and a megalomaniac.

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Contrary to the political line of the Party and the State as far as the Catholic clergy is concerned, comrade Tuk Jakova operated openly against this line until recently. Actually he did not agree with the line of the Party and the State regarding the Catholic clergy. He has underestimated the hostile activity of the Catholic clergy leaders. The personal relations he has maintained with certain of these leaders have damaged the party badly. Comrade Tuk let them get the impression that he would be the supporter of their views for the approval of their statute by the government, this statute being in contrast with the laws of our state; he has entertained (he saw them in and out) reactionary Catholic priests in his house with an intolerable bourgeois affection, and not only this, but he gave money as financial aid to some of them. If the reactionary leaders of the Catholic clergy spread everywhere the word that "their statute will be approved without choice by the government", this sprang from their great hopes they had based on comrade Tuk Jakova, a leader of the Party and the government from whom they expected the necessary support.

Contrary to the line of the party, which is for the intensification of the class struggle and for the increasing of our hate against the class enemy, comrade Tuk Jakova not only did not increase this feeling of hatred, but to the contrary he moderated it very much. In the house of comrade Tuk Jakova, especially during the year 1950, were entertained all kinds of uncontrolled elements, and among them elements opposing our regime. Comrade Tuk has proved to be a very good host and treated these reactionary elements in the same way as he treated the friends of the regime. He has not made any distinction between friends and enemies. As far as he is concerned, the class struggle should proceed not towards intensification but towards fading out. All these anti--regime elements and enemies kept going to comrade Tuk on purpose and they found support on him; this (support) was expressed with the generous intervention of comrade Tuk

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with various government organizations to do them favors. In this way, for instance, it happened that with the intervention of comrade Tuk an enemy was released from prison, who went to the mountains as soon as he was released from prison, etc.

All these show that comrade Tuk Jakova is practically opposing the political line of the Party.

3). Comrade Tuk Jakova, contrary to the economic policy of the party and the state, during the year 19.. (illegible) kept in his head the idea that certain sectors of the economic plan, and especially that of oil, were unrealistic. Inspired by entirely mistaken ideas according to which the plan, as far as certain sectors are concerned, was unrealistic, comrade Tuk did not mobilize the party organizations and the masses towards the realization of the plan. He was pessimistic himself about the realization of certain sectors of the plan and for this reason he did not fight effectively in order to make the party organizations and the masses to have faith in the realization of the plan.

4). As a secretary of the Central Committee for personnel, Comrade Tuk Jakova failed to perform his duties, made mistakes and allowed serious lapses. He did not put into effect the resolutions of the Congress in connection with the personnel policy. He judged the personnel only in a bureaucratic manner, from his office, and did not pursue the development of the personnel in their work. He did encourage new personnel and those considered promising, and on the other hand he did not cleanse the state apparatus from undesirable elements and enemies.

5). As a Secretary of the Central Committee for the organization of the party and the masses, Comrade Tuk Jakova failed to perform his duties. He directed this vital sector of the party in an entirely bureaucratic manner, only by office memoranda. From the time of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee and until

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recently he never went personally to the organization of the party and to the masses in the field in order to see in practice how the party line is applied. Affected by underestimation of the enemy's work, by the underestimation of the need to intensify the class struggle, being satisfied in himself and with very little, (affected) by the lack of vigilance and by the negligence of his duty, comrade Tuk not only did not work properly for the strengthening of the democracy within the Party, for the strengthening of criticism and self-criticism in the party and in the masses, but contrary to this, he allowed criticism and self-criticism in the Party and in the organizations of the masses to be underestimated, neglected, and weakened, something that caused serious damage to the party. Comrade Tuk Jakova, as an important party leader, should fight for the strengthening of democracy within the party. But he, himself, with his work and his example, weakened criticism and self--criticism, weakened the democracy within the party, the class struggle, the vigilance in the party.

Instead of being a leader in the organizational and political strengthening of the party, as a Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Tuk has been the main one to break the organizational rules of the party, in spite of the fact that he did not do this with any evil intentions. For a long time, he broke the organizational regulations concerning re--entry into the party of elements dismissed from the party, by accepting these (elements) without submitting them to the control of the Politburo and of the Secretariate, and without consulting at all the interested base Organizations (Organizatati Baze). And in this manner he allowed a group of undesirable elements to enter the party only with the initiative of the Carlegium (kojegjumi) of the Central Committee and his personal approval. He was the main supporter of the mistaken idea about the procedure to be followed for the verification of the party documents; according to this (idea) these documents should be verified without the control of the Party

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masses, without any meetings of the base Organizations. These violations of the organizational line of the Party on the part of comrade Tuk Jakova were corrected by the Party leadership but with a delay, and this work of comrade Tuk has thus caused damage to the Party.

Comrade Tuk Jakova hardly cared at all for the strengthening of the organization of the masses. Also he did not fulfill his duty in connection with the management of the Central Committee apparatus for the sector of economy which have been under him. The role of these apparatus and their management by comrade Tuk mounted almost to nil; and this thing, i.e., the lack of functioning of the main economic directorates of the Central Committee, has caused considerable damage to the Party.

6). Comrade Tuk Jakova, instead of making a good example, and instead of studying in order to raise his political and ideological level, made a bad example. He hardly studies Marxism and Leninism during the period that he was Secretary of the Central Committee. Not only that, but he has not yet put in practice the experience of the Bolshevik Party brought to our country by the party delegation six months ago, and as a matter of fact he has not yet read the material brought by the delegation in connection with the party internal affairs. This is not only a scandalous negligence on the part of Comrade Tuk, but, simultaneously, it is an intolerable and very harmful lack of consideration towards the experience of the Bolshevik Party and of the Soviet Union. That comrade Tuk has not had any consideration for the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union is proved by the fact that during these last two years he has had very few meetings with Soviet comrades in Albania in order to discuss with them and profit from their very valuable experiences.

All these said above show clearly that comrade Tuk Jakova for a long time has been in practical opposition with the line of the party, despite the fact that he has never declared his opposition. This harmful, for the party,

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activity of comrade Tuk has its roots in his deeply opportunist and liberal-bourgeois views. These harmful views have been crystallized into an entirely opportunist line for comrade Tuk Jakova. Had the Party followed the opportunist way of comrade Tuk Jakova, this inevitably would have led to the liquidation of the Party and of our people's regime. This opportunist work of comrade Tuk Jakova has not been condemned before as it is condemned today not only because today this harmful work of comrade Tuk has become very clear from the concrete facts themselves, but also because of the fact that the Politburo lacked Bolshevik criticism and auto--criticism. The establishment of Bolshevik criticism and auto-criticism into the Politburo resulted in the clarification, determination, and condemnation of these harmful activities of Comrade Tuk Jakova; then they were presented to the Plenum of the Central Committee which approved fully and developed even further the conclusion of the Politburo on the activities of comrade Tuk Jakova.

At the IX Plenum of the Central Committee, during which the case of comrade Tuk Jakova was brought for discussion, predominated the spirit of firm criticism and auto--criticism. Comrade Tuk made his auto-criticism in front of the Plenum. This auto-criticism is considered satisfactory. But comrade Tuk Jakova, in the future, must proceed with a more profound autocriticism, he must analyze more closely the reasons that caused his mistakes and sins.

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II. About the capitulating attitude of the comrades Teodor Heba and Manol Konomi. Comrades Teodor Heba and Manol Konomi, both members of the Central Committee elected by the First Party Congress, deeply influenced by the pressure of the internal reactionary bourgeoisie and by the imperialism in general, proved to be frightened and submissive before the difficulties and the duties which were entrusted to them by the Party. Comrade Teodor Heba, as a director of the Personnel Directorate of the Central Committee, is very much responsible for the serious mistakes evidenced in the application of his policy towards personnel. And not only this, but he admitted himself that these mistakes were the reflection of the bourgeois pressure upon him from the year 1945 until today, (he admitted) that he does not feel himself capable of handling the duties entrusted to him, etc. He admitted before the Plenum of the Central Committee that until today he has not even read the History of the Bolshevik Party, something that is very shameful and not permissible either for a member of the Central Committee or even for a rank and file party member. The auto--criticism of comrade Teodor Heba made before the Plenum of the Central Committee was entirely worthless; the entire Plenum remained unclarified about the attitude of comrade Teodor Heba. He, himself, declared in front of the Plenum that he has lived for a long time under the pressure of internal and foreign enemies, and believing this, he reached the point of considering himself completely inefficient. But the Plenum has not fully understood the manner and the extent of influence that the pressure of the enemy has had upon comrade Teodor Heba and how this pressure influenced him, and on the other hand (the Plenum) does not at all believe that comrade Teodor is "entirely inefficient" as he declared himself. Therefore, the Plenum considers the attitude of comrade Teodor Heba as an attitude of surrender; considers comrade Teodor Heba a deserter from the fore-front of the party struggle, and not worthy to participate in the Central Committee.

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Comrade Manol Konomi himself declared that he did not accept happily his election as a member of the Central Committee, pretending that he lacks efficiency. He also has requested several times to be discharged from his post as Minister of Justice under the false excuse of being inefficient. During the period that he was Minister of Justice, he was not equal to the task and has supported the bourgeois and reactionary element which had penetrated into the organs of justice. He proved to be deeply opportunistic in putting into effect the legality of our state, and proved to be frightened of the intensification of the class struggle. The Plenum of the Central Committee was not satisfied at all with the auto-criticism of comrade Manol Konomi. The Plenum cannot believe that comrade Manol Konomi lacks the practical efficiency, and is convinced that all these demonstrations of comrade Manol are the expression of the pressure of the internal and foreign enemies upon him, and in this way considers comrade Manol a capitulator in the face of difficulties, a deserter from the forefront of the Party struggle, and not worthy to be a member of the Central Committee.

After the analysis of the opportunistic activities of Comrade Tuk Jakova, and the capitulating attitude of the comrades Teodor Heba and Manol Konomi, the IX Plenum of the Central Committee,

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1). Comrade Tuk Jakova to be discharged from the responsibility of the Politburo member, and of the Secretary of the Party Committee. He remains a member of the Central Committee, taking into consideration the fighting that he has done and his other merits, and hoping that he will make a radical change putting himself definitely in line with the line of the party.

2). Comrades Teodor Heba and Manol Konomi to be dismissed from the Central Committee. To advise the government to re-consider the case concerning the post held by Manol Konomi as a Minister of Justice by discharging him from this post.

All the party organizations must learn as much as possible from the mistakes and sins of comrades Tuk Jakova, Teodor Heba and Manol Konomi. Every Communist must make a deep analysis of his activities in order to find the mistakes and defects in himself and to fight them firmly. The entire party must be constantly mobilized toward the following directions:

a. Every communist must understand that these serious mistakes are made when it is not clear that "in the phase of passing from capitalism to socialism the class struggle is not softened but intensified"; when the man is elated because of the successes, when manifestations of being satisfied with little begin to appear, etc.

b. In order to fight without any hesitation every manifestation of opportunism, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remainders among communists, such as fanaticism, favoritism, foppery, lack of the spirit of sacrifice, tender--heartedness towards the enemy, etc.

c. In order to strengthen the revolutionary vigilance and the iron Bolshevik discipline; these can be done only by strengthening criticism and self--criticism within the party, by the strengthening of internal democracy.

d. In order to increase the intensification of the class struggle, in order to increase the hatred against the class enemy, and the organized struggle against the pressure of internal and foreign enemies.

e. In order to raise the political and ideological level of every communist and of those who are not members of the party: Every Communist, from time to time, and in fact every day, must ask himself this question: "How much have I learned today, how much have I improved politically and ideologically, and how much have I tried to help the others who are not Party members in order to improve politically and ideologically?"

f. In order to increase the love for Soviet Union, for the Bolshevik Party, and for Comrade Stalin. In evaluating a person, Communist or non--Communist, we must always start from his attitude towards the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party, and Comrade Stalin. The love towards them is the main element in evaluating the

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attitude of a person. And this love must be expressed not only with words and in sentimental form, but concretely with work, deeds, with the fulfillment of the tasks that the party and the people entrusted us with, and by defending the line of the party.

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ALBANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

ATTACHMENT

CLOSED LETTERTO ALL COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS, TO ALL COMMUNISTS

The Politbure of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party has decided that in the entire party must take place a verification and replacement of the documents of full members and candidate members of the Albanian Workers' Party. This resolution is of a ^{very} great importance because it will serve for the establishment of exemplary order in the party internal affairs, and in this way our party will become even stronger.

Due to the hostile work of Kesi Xexë great defects have existed in the work for the registration of the Communists; there are full members and candidate members of the party who ^{do not} have ~~not~~ got any party document, or they ^{do not} have not got all the necessary documents; there are party documents in which are not included the exact contents, because those who filled them did not know how to fill them, or they did so to cheat the party in order to hide their mistakes and shortcomings; there has been lack of the necessary care among all the Communists in safeguarding their party membership card like their own eyes, etc. Such a confusion has been an obstacle and has damaged the work of the party, and some hostile elements may have exploited this (confusion) to enter the party illegally in order to fight the party from inside hidden behind the party membership card.

The verification and replacement of the documents of full members and candidate members of the Party is a potential measure taken by the Party in order to bring to an end, once and for ever, these shortcomings. The verification and replacement of the documents will serve for the elimination of the disorder existing today in the registration of the Communists, and for the establishment

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of the new system by replacing the old documents with new ones, in order to secure more exact data on every Communist, and in this way to improve the structure of the party; (this will also help) to draw lessons and to take measures in connection with the education and correction of the Communists, as well as to discover and leave out of the party the hostile elements which may have entered the party illegally by cheating the Communist organizations or by falsifying the documents. From the verification and replacement of the documents we will draw important lessons for the improvement of all the work of the party organizations.

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In order to carry out this work successfully it is imperative for all the Communists to understand well and properly the great importance of this work and ~~to~~ give all their help. The important point is to secure documents(flot-anketa(sic) and new auto-biography), with exact contents for every full member and candidate member of the Party; to clarify and verify every dark point; to discover ^{any} ~~anything~~ that might have not been said to the Party. This will serve that we shall in no manner give our full membership card or candidate card to the enemies but to the true Communists.

For this reason it is the duty of every Communist to answer correctly to all the questions of the flot anketa(sic), and write in his new auto-biography the main points which must be clarified to the party about himself. It is the duty of every Communist to speak to the party openly and without reservations about anything having to do with him(his person); to have faith that the Party solves everything with justice, and(it is the duty of every Communist) to say the truth to the Party. It is not permissible to the Communists to hide their shortcomings and weaknesses; this is harmful to the Party and the Communists themselves. Those who will not reveal the truth to the Party cannot be its true members.

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It is the duty of every Communist also to inform the Party about anything he knows in connection with Communists. "Friendship" and "nepotism" must be left aside. The covering of shortcomings and weaknesses of the comrades because of the sick familiarity is a kind of work which is far from the party way; it causes damage to the party; it is an obstacle in giving the necessary help to the Communists whenever these weaknesses show up, and results that these (Communists) go worse and worse. It is the duty of every Communist to strengthen the revolutionary vigilance in order to discover the enemy who might have entered the Party illegally.

But in this connection, proper care must be taken so that the info given be exact (true) and well proved. In no manner should there be given info based only on the grape vine or rumors spread by intriguers and enemies. They (the info) are valuable and help the party only when they are real. Otherwise, they are harmful to the party and lead to wrong orientation.

It is the duty of the Communists also not to discuss in the streets about anything they know or heard about their comrades. They can bring these up at the meetings of the party organizations to which they belong, or they may report them to the Party Committee of the Rreth (District). Only in this way^{ly} they help in strengthening the work of the party.

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party appeals to the conscience and honesty of every Communist to help the party in this great and important work. It is a sacred duty for every Communist to help with all his possibilities for the strengthening of his own party.

The Personnel Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Albanian Workers' Party.

(Tuk Jakova).

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